

~~S-E C R E T~~

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25X1A2g



WORKING PAPER

THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION 1961 - 1962

27 November 1962

This is not an officially approved publication of CIA. It is circulated for information subject to the enclosed statement of limitations.

~~S-E C R E T~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~SECRET~~

THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION

1961 - 1962

27 November 1962

~~SECRET~~

I. Introduction

This paper describes the activities and developments of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) from April 1961-August 1962. From those activities and developments it is possible to draw the following conclusions.

1. The AAPSO has continued to serve the international Communist movement as a pro-Communist anti-Western instrument. It has continued to emphasize political agitation at the national level in support of Soviet-bloc policies on the international issues of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.
2. There has been increased propaganda activity particularly on the part of the national committees.
3. The Fund Committee and the International Committee to Aid Algeria and the Congo, semi-autonomous sub-committees of the AAPSO, have been active in raising funds and coordinating aid to support militant nationalist groups in their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.
4. The Sino-Soviet conflict has given rise to some dissension within the Secretariat of the AAPSO and has hampered the effectiveness of its efforts to expand the AAPSO to include Latin America.
5. Due to Sino-Soviet conflicts the UAR may be able to strengthen its influence within the organization.

II. Organization

The AAPSO Executive Committee met in Gaza from 9-11 December 1961 and continues to be the policy-making body of the organization. Twenty-three of the 27 member countries were represented at the Gaza meeting. Absentees were representatives of Ghana, Liberia, Somalia, and Pakistan. Of the 23 delegations present, 18 consisted of Communists or African Nationalists sympathetic to the Communist group.

Although, when initially set up, the Executive Committee was to include only one member from each designated country, at Gaza the delegations were considerably larger. The largest single delegation was that of the Chinese People's Republic with 7 members. The Soviet group was next largest with 6 delegates. Both these delegations included Party leaders (e.g. 2 Chinese delegates, Liao Cheng-Chi and Liu Ming - 1 are Central Committee members of the Chinese Communist Party).

In addition to regular delegates 14 observer delegations attended. All of these except the groups from Oman and "Palestine" were Communists representing Bloc countries and International Communist Fronts or African sympathizers of the Communist Bloc.

~~SECRET~~

During late 1961 and 1962 the AAPSO Permanent Secretariat has for the first time since its establishment operated at full strength. The Secretariat is still Communist-dominated. Its membership consists of 5 Communist Party members, from USSR, China, Japan, India, and Indonesia; 4 Africans, from Uganda, Congo, Guinea, and Cameroun, who have consistently followed either the Soviet or Chinese lead; an Iraqi whose public statements are generally favorable to the Chinese line; an Algerian, a newcomer about whom little is known although his predecessor was a consistent Chinese supporter. Yousef el Sibai the Secretary General, an Egyptian, is probably the only anti-Communist on the board. The Secretariat represents the entire gamut of Communist thinking from the flexible Soviet to the most militant Chinese line. This situation has caused considerable internal friction. On most questions, however, compromise has enabled the Secretariat to carry out its functions. Notable exceptions are mentioned in paragraph 7, page 2.

The following organizational changes were approved at the Gaza Executive Committee Meeting:

A. The Women's Liaison Committee was enlarged from 6-10 members, 3 of whom, representing Africa, Asia and the UAR, were directed to remain in Cairo attached to the Permanent Secretariat.

B. A Liaison Committee composed of representatives of the youth organizations in Tanganyika, Angola, Nigeria, Morocco, Korea (North), Iraq, and Ceylon was established and directed to convene semi-annually during Executive Committee meetings. Its duties include the formulating of an Afro-Asian youth policy and the drawing up of programs and projects to be executed during the year.

Applications for membership in the AAPSO were accepted from the National Democratic Union of Mozambique and the Popular Party of Brunei.

Although not mentioned in the report of the Executive Committee meeting, activities of a National Solidarity Committee of Mali were noted for the first time during early 1962.

The Executive Committee at Gaza also attempted to lay the ground work for further coordination of the Afro-Asian and Latin American "liberation struggles." This effort, however, was hampered by Sino-Soviet differences of opinions. The major bone of contention between the Chinese and the Soviets regarding plans for an Afro-Asian-Latin-American Conference concerns acceptance of the World Peace Council as a co-sponsor of the conference. Through this device the USSR seeks apparently to inject reliable individuals from the areas concerned into key positions where they can keep both the themes and the organizational aspects of the Three-Continent Conference

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Sanitized - Approved For Release : CIA-RDP78-00915R001400270002-5
consistent with Soviet policies. Soviet insistence on WPC sponsorship met with sharp Chinese resistance and further discussion of the issue was postponed.

This question was again taken up at the World Peace Council Bureau meeting in Stockholm, which followed immediately after the Gaza Conference and at which the AAPSO was represented by a delegation led by Huan Muci, an Executive Committee member from North Vietnam, Mehdi Ben Barka of Morocco, also from the AAPSO Executive Committee, and all the members of the Permanent Secretariat except the Egyptians, who at the last minute were refused exit visas by Abd-el-Nasser. Sino-Soviet differences were once more apparent. This time, too, it was evident that the AAPSO Secretariat was badly split. The Soviet was strongly supported by the Indian Secretary. The Africans, particularly the Guinean, supported the Chinese position. Muci and Ben Barka, however, advocated compromise in an effort to conciliate the opposing forces. The issue was left unresolved and remains a continuing area of dissension within the Secretariat. As of August 1962 no compromise has been reached and plans for the Three-Continent Conference remain in abeyance.

III. Activities

The General Declaration of the Executive Committee of the AAPSO released in Gaza in December 1961 outlined the program for 1962. This declaration was militantly anti-West, anti-imperialist, and anti-U.S. It generally supported Communist-bloc policies on the international issues of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. The declaration maintained that "whenever people are fighting for national independence and sovereignty they find themselves face to face with an international common front headed by the U.S." It also declared that "the revival of Japanese militarism as well as West German militarism to serve the objectives of U.S. imperialism constitutes a grave danger to the cause of peace. . . The Executive Committee underlines the necessity of concluding a peace treaty with both German states. . . The committee is convinced that the problem of world peace is linked to the anti-colonial struggle and to the struggle of peoples for their independence."

Activities implementing this policy are directed by the Permanent Secretariat supported by the Fund Committee, the Committee for Aid to Algeria and the Congo and the National Solidarity Committees and fall within two general categories: propaganda and material support for national liberation movements.

Propaganda

The Secretariat has released a continuing flow of violently anti-imperialist, anti-western, anti-U.S. statements. Some were

in support of specific liberation movements (e. g. West Irian, Laos, South Korea, Southern Rhodesia, Okinawa, Zanzibar); some supported individuals allegedly victimized by Western Imperialists such as Lumumba and Gizenga; some castigated U.S. activity in Cuba and South Vietnam and the British military moves in the Near East; others commemorated anniversaries, e. g. Sharpeville riots and the Bandung Conference. All of them, however, clearly denounced the West and pointed out the virtues of the "peace-loving" people of the Sino-Soviet Bloc. In addition to statements and press releases, cables were sent to Mr. Adoula condemning the "brutal measures" taken by his government against Gizenga and to the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations protesting Gizenga's arrest. Rallies were held in support of similar objectives at which speakers excoriated the United States as leaders of the Western Imperialists and "days" and "weeks" were set aside by the Secretariat to support these same ends.

The Secretariat has also continued to publish the Afro-Asian Bulletin on a regular bi-monthly basis. The Bulletin has grown in size and is disseminated as guidance to all national committees and affiliated organizations. The Bulletin is published in 3 languages, Arabic, English, and French, in issues of 2,000 copies. The 1962 AAPSO budget also provides for the Afro-Asian Quarterly intended for the "intellectuals" of the movement (no copies, however, have as yet appeared).

National Committees have supported the propaganda effort on the local level. They too have issued statements, organized rallies, and issued publications designed to rouse local feeling against the West and support issues traditionally exploited by the Sino-Soviet Bloc.

The Soviet National Solidarity Committee has been most active. For example, the Soviet committee organized popular meetings in Moscow on the occasion of the signing of the cease-fire agreement in Algeria. The Soviet committee issued a statement protesting against the "flagrant armed intervention of American imperialists in the affairs of South Vietnam" and cabled a message to the Permanent Secretariat denouncing the "unfair and illegal imprisonment of the great leader of the Congolese Movement and warning the U.N. against the consequences of mistreating Mr. Gizenga."

Similar cables, rallies, and statements have emanated repeatedly from the committees of Mongolia, Ceylon, Vietnam, Korea, Indonesia, the Chinese People's Republic, and many others. The Indian Afro-Asian Solidarity committee has organized branches in the provinces, all of which have sponsored mass meetings and rallies in support of Afro-Asian liberation struggles, and the Ceylon Afro-Asian Solidarity Association publishes a monthly bulletin modeled on that of the Permanent Secretariat.

~~SECRET~~

The National Committees, particularly in the USSR and China, also act as hosts to visitors from the underdeveloped areas whom they treat with special deference and expose to the customary propaganda.

Although it is difficult to measure accurately the impact of this propaganda effort, it is certain that the masses in the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa are being exposed to an increasing barrage from both local and international AAPSO outlets.

Aid to National Liberation Movements

The AAPSO program for aid to national liberation movements is conceived on the grand scale. Its stated intention is to satisfy the material needs of popular forces in Afro-Asian countries in their struggle against imperialism. In contrast to the AAPSO propaganda program, which is now operating in high gear, the aid program is still in a formative stage.

The Afro-Asian Fund Committee, established in 1960, is responsible for raising funds and, working along policy lines laid down by the Executive Committee, for distributing money and other material aid. The Fund Committee meets 3 times a year and reports to the Executive Committee at its semi-annual meetings. The report of the Fund Committee to the Executive Committee meeting in Gaza and the minutes of the Fund Committee meeting held subsequently in Cairo on 12 and 13 December 1961 reveal that, like most charitable organizations, the number and size of requests greatly exceed the resources at hand. According to the report at Gaza the fund had on hand a total of \$79,000 (\$31,000 in money and material from the USSR, \$40,000 in materials from Communist China, and \$8,000 from Guinea). At the Cairo Fund Committee meeting the Chinese promised another \$20,000 plus 30-50 scholarships for students. The Soviet Solidarity Committee offered 10,000 rubles and the Soviet delegate promised that in the USSR "the masses will be mobilized to gather all possible aid", and meanwhile gave additional materials valued at \$11,000. The UAR delegate, Fu'ad Galal agreed to "follow up" on \$20,000 which had been promised but not yet produced by the UAR.

Although these assets appear relatively meager the Fund Committee had prospects for sizeable donations in the near future. In his statement to the Executive Committee Mehdi Ben Barka reported that he and Ibrahim Issa had recently visited Lebanon, Iraq, Indonesia, North Vietnam, Burma, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Organization of Journalists, the International Union of Students, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. They were warmly received in all places and, Ben Barka continued, he felt that as a result of his tour the Fund Committee would be able to expand its activities.

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory balance on hand the Fund Committee, as of December 1961, had already granted unspecified amounts of aid to the following organizations:

1. The General Secretariat of the All-African Peoples' Conference.
2. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).
3. The African Independence Party of Portuguese Guinea (PAI).
4. National Union of Ruanda.
5. African National Congress (South Africa).
6. South African United Front.
7. United National Independence Party (Northern Rhodesia).
8. Union of Cameroun People (UPC).
9. Union of West African Women.
10. The Sawaba Party (Niger) (in exile).

Requests had been received from but not as yet granted to:

1. Basutoland Congress Party.
2. National Party of Southern Rhodesia.
3. Organization of the African Peoples of the Southwest.
4. National African Congress of Tanganyika.
5. Omani Office.
6. Congress of All the Peoples of Sierra Leone.
7. Zanzibar National Party.
8. Congress of Peoples of Uganda.
9. United Party of National Independence.
10. Party of the National Union of Ruanda-Urundi.
11. Committee of African Organizations in London.
12. All African Peoples' Conference.

Two factors make it impossible at the present time to gauge the degree of success of Fund Committee activity. Available information dates back to the December 1961 committee reports which leave in suspense the actual fulfillment of promised donations. Although the Fund Committee met again on 25-26 September 1962 in Conakry, there has been no specific information concerning that meeting. Once again the meeting was held behind closed doors and the official statements issued for publication merely called for increased contributions for liberation movements and stated that the committee has played a positive role and achieved important successes. Furthermore, there are some indications that, for security reasons, fund operations may now, in many cases, be covert. (This question of security was brought up at the December meeting by Fu'ad Galal who emphasized the need for taking security precautions, since "the imperialists could make use of such information against the organizations which we are aiding.") The next meeting of the Fund Committee is scheduled to coincide with the 3rd Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference scheduled for early January and more up-to-date information should be forthcoming.

In addition to the Fund Committee, the International Committee to Aid Algeria and the Congo (ICAAC) was established to give special attention to these very important areas. Its objective is to provide both propaganda and material support, the latter to be raised from Bloc sources and from AAPSO National Committees. Currently the ICAAC's main efforts are being centered on making arrangements for a group of lawyers to defend Gizenga against the charges of the Leopoldville government. In this connection the committee has solicited the help of the Afro-Asian Lawyers' Conference, a group sponsored by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and of Lucio Luzzato, an Italian Communist, as well as of the pro-Communist Belgian lawyer, Jules Chose, and lawyers from Cuba, Guinea, and Japan.

The ICAAC includes some members of the AAPSO Permanent Secretariat but acts independently, albeit in cooperation with the Secretariat.

IV. Relations with other Organizations

The AAPSO has continued through the period under review to work closely with the All-African Peoples' Conference. Abdoulaye Diallo, AAPC Secretary General, participated in the December 1961 meeting of the AAPSO Fund Committee, and in the Gaza Executive Committee meeting. The AAPC received funds from the AAPSO and the AAPSO has sent observer delegations to meetings of two AAPC-affiliated groups, the Pan-African Youth Organization (Conakry April 1962) and the All-African Women's Conference (Dar-es-Salaam July 1962).

The AAPSO has also sent observer delegations to the following meetings: the World Peace Council, the Pan-African Movement for Freedom in East Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA), the International Union of Students Seminar for African Students, the Congress of the Morocco Union Nationale des Forces Populaires (UNFP), the African Freedom Fighters' Conference and the Afro-Asian Jurists' Conference.

V. 3rd Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference

Preparations are now under way for the 3rd Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference. This meeting is scheduled to take place in early January 1963 in Dar-es-Salaam.

The locale chosen for this conference is another item in the growing mass of evidence that East Africa is now becoming a major target for the Communist Bloc effort.

The proposed agenda for the conference covers the following topics:

1. Struggle for national independence and against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism.
2. Economic liberation and the development of national economy.
3. Liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism in cultural and social matters and the problems of cultural and social development.
4. Unity of Afro-Asian people and the consolidation of solidarity with the peoples of Latin America.

In addition to these topics, it is probable that organizational questions concerning the AAPSO itself will be brought up, e.g. the locale and composition of the Permanent Secretariat and the membership of the executive committee (both of these bodies are regularly scheduled for review at the biennial conference).

It has also been reported that action will be taken on applications for admission to the AAPSO submitted by the following organizations:

1. The Peoples' Progressive Party of British Guiana.
2. The Independence Movement in Puerto Rico.
3. The Swaziland Progressive Party.
4. The Bechuanaland Peoples' Party.
5. The South African Congress of Democrats.
6. The Nigerian Peoples' Party.
7. The Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (sic) - This probably means the Independent United Labor Congress of Nigeria.
8. The Friendship Association between Nigeria and Foreign Countries.
9. The National Union of Ruanda.

It is noteworthy that the two Latin American groups will be the first organizations from that area to become members of the AAPSO.

Inasmuch as there has been considerable dissension between the Chinese and the Soviets at the Permanent Secretariat level, some Sino-Soviet conflict will probably develop during the course of the meeting. The position of the UAR in case of such a controversy could be significant. At the 2nd AAPSO Conference (Conakry 1960) the Sino-Soviet Bloc changed the by-laws of the AAPSO to curtail UAR influence. The UAR, however, has continued to support the organization. During recent months, when alignments within the Secretariat have apparently been made on the basis of Sino-Soviet differences, the UAR representative has supported the Soviet line. It is possible, however, that UAR pressure on neutralist delegations who will participate in the Dar-es-Salaam Conference could result in changes which would restore to the UAR some of its former prestige.

APPENDIX**A. Executive Committee of the AAPSO**

Representation on the Executive Committee is by country. The individuals named below were leaders of their respective delegations at the most recent meeting of the Committee held at Gaza in December 1961.

Algeria	Ben Habeles, Abd-al-Malek
Congo	Antoine Tshimanga
Cameroon	Oscade Afana
China	Liao Cheng-Chi
Ghana	(no delegation at the Gaza meeting)
Guinea	Camara Mamady
Iran	Zia al-Din Alai Tabetabi
USSR	Anatoli Sofronov
India	Melk Raj Amond
Iraq	Abd al Wahab al-Saloom
Indonesia	Sunito
Kenya	Wera Ambitho
Liberia	(no delegation at the Gaza meeting)
Japan	Shosaku Atai
Korea (North)	Han Sul Ya
Lebanon	Ma'aruf Sa'ad al-Misri
Morocco	Mahdi Ben Barka
Mongolia	Porterjal Cernabache
Pakistan	(no delegation at the Gaza meeting)
Somalia	(no delegation at the Gaza meeting)
Southern Rhodesia	Washington Malianga

South West Africa	Jarnetundi Kozonguizi
Tunisia	Muhammad Ben Ezara
Uganda	Ali Omar Senyonga
UAR	Fu'ad Galal
Vietnam (North)	Hoang Muoi
Yemen	Ibrahim Ali al-Wazir

B. Permanent Secretariat of the AAPSO

Secretary General - UAR Youssef el-Sibai

Deputy Secretary General - UAR Mursi Sa'ad al-Din

National Secretaries:

Algeria	Abdel Aziz Ben Milloud
Cameroon	Osende Afana
China	Chu Tze-Chi, Yang-Chi
Congo	Anicet Mbiasa
Guinea	Camara Mamady, Mam. Pali Diallo
India	M. Kalim Ullah
Indonesia	Ibrahim Issa
Iraq	Abdel Wahab el Salloom
Japan	Kazuo Kitazawa
Uganda	Paul Sikasi
USSR	Latif M. Maksudov, Alexander Teplichine

C. Fund Committee

Cameroon	Osende Afana	Member
China	Chu Tze-chi	Vice Chairman
Guinea	Ismail Toure	Chairman

Indonesia	Ibrahim Issa	Member
Morocco	Mehdi Ben Barka	Vice Chairman
UAR	Fu'ad Galal	Member
USSR	Anatoli Sofronov	Member

Abdoulaye Diallo, Secretary General of the All African Peoples Conference, attends Fund Committee meetings as a Fraternal Delegate.

D. International Committee for Aid to Algeria and the Congo

Representatives of the following countries were designated as members by the AAPSO Executive Committee:

Algeria

China

Congo

Ghana

Guinea

India

Indonesia

Japan

Mali

Morocco

Sudan

UAR

USSR

(Note: Ghana, Mali and Sudan have not as yet participated.)

~~SECRET~~